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ABSTRACT

Communication media are among the many "systems" Latinos confront in working to improve their lives in the United States. Latino encounters with media systems have generally taken place on three levels: Anglo media, Spanish language media, and bilingual/bicultural media. The English language or Anglo media have portrayed the Latino with negative stereotypes and reported Latino news events and culture with white middle class bias. Latinos are underrepresented in employment by these industries. Spanish language media, particularly newspapers, have a long history dating back to 1808. Spanish language broadcasting experienced growth during the 1970s, but most radio and television broadcasting stations are owned and managed by Anglos, staffed by Latin Americans rather than local Latinos, and depend heavily on imported programs produced and aired in Latin America. Bilingual/bicultural media are directed at the Latino audience in English or a combination of Spanish and English, and this format is becoming more apparent in traditional media. Given the current and projected growth of the Latino population, it is clear that it will continue to have an impact on existing and developing media. (HTH)

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Latinos and the Media in the United States:

An Overview

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

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In September 1541 a tremendous earthquake and storm devastated Guatemala City in Central America. Not long after the disaster an eight-page newsheet was printed and distributed in Mexico City describing the Guatemalan destruction.

This newspaper, written by Juan Rodriquez and printed by Juan Pablo, is apparently the first printed journalism in the Americas and even predates some early newsheets in Europe. Thus, the 1541 Mexican news report of the Guatemalan disaster is the first newspaper journalism in America, coming more than a half century before the 1609 German newsheets often cited as the first primitive newspapers.

The form Rodrigquez and Pablo chose to tell the public about the Guatemalan earthquake was to become a popular journalistic medium in colonila Latin America. Called hojas volantes (bulletins), these pamphlets and broadside sheets were issued at irregular intervals when ships arrived with news from other ports. According to one historian they carried lists of appointments, current events, and government orders; but did not express opinions.

"These primitive news-sheets were the prototypes of newspapers, wrote journalism historian Al Hester of the University of Georgia in a

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This paper is adapted from a chapter to be published in Michael C. Emery and Ted Curtis Smythe, Readings in Mass Communication, Wm C. Brown, (In Press).

1972 paper, "They treated significant happenings and made the 'news' of them widely available....."

But, despite the work of Hester and Latin American scholars who researched early news reporting, the contributions of Latinos in inventing and developing print journalism have been all but ignored by United States journalism historians. However, these early contributions by Latinos demonstrate that news reporting and communication media are activities that Latinos have been doing for a long time.

As surprising as the historical firsts of Latino journalism may be, even more surprising to most people is the sharp current and projected growth of Latinos in the United States. And it is this trend for the future that makes Latinos and the media that affects them an important topic of discussion.

Latinos in the United States

Latinos are the nation's fastest growing population group and are projected to grow at an even faster rate in the future. The U.S. Census Bureau, which admits it undercounts Latinos, put the U.S. Latino population at 12 million in 1978. But the addition of 3.1 million Puerto Ricans and an estimated six to eight million undocumented workers easily pushed the figure above 20 million, about 9% of the U.S. total.

Because of a younger median age and larger family sizes Latinos will someday pass Blacks as the nation's largest minority group; the only question is how soon. Based on birth and death rates it is projected Latinos will earn the dubious honor of being the nation's largest minority group early in the next century. However, when continued immigration and possible amnesty for undocumented workers are taken into account, some

government officials predict it could happen as early as 1990.

Long stereotyped as a regional group found in large numbers only in the Southwest, Latinos are actually a nationally dispersed people with large concentrations in the Midwest, Northeast and South. The states of New York, New Jersey and Illinois each have more Latino residents than either Arizona, Colorado or New Mexico. The U.S. city with the largest Latino population is not Los Angeles, San Antonio or Miami, but New York City.

Despite an image as rural farmworkers, 84% of all Latinos live in urban metropolitan areas (only 68% of all U.S. residents do). Latinos also have a lower percentage of their workforce employed in farm labor than the U.S. labor force overall. And, in spite of a common stereotype that Latinos do not learn English, census figures show 78% of all Latinos to be bilingual in Spanish and English.

But large numbers, national dispersion, urban residence, and bilingual ability have done little to improve the socio-economic status of Latinos when compared with national averages. Latino median family income is 25% below the national average and nearly one-fourth of all Latinos live in poverty. Other social indicators such as education, housing, health, employment and political representation continue to show Latinos far below national norms.

Latinos can also be described as a hardworking people who take their family and community responsibilities seriously. However, many confront a system that was designed to work against them when they try to improve their lives.

Communication media are among the many "systems" that Latinos confront in working to improve their lives in the United States. Although media

are not usually considered a "bread and butter" issue such as law enforcement, housing, health care, employment and education; the issues involving media gained greater prominance among Latino activists in the 1970s.

This growing awareness of the importance of communication media has developed partly out of an understanding of the role played by media in shaping the collective consciousness of the public mind. It has also grown out of the need to develop communicators and communication media to serve Latino communities. Latino dealings with media systems has generally taken place on three levels. Each level represents a different media subsystem which Latinos must deal with. These three subsystems can be broadly designated as: (1) Anglo media, (2) Spanish-language media, and (3) alternative media bilingual bicultural media.

ANGLO MEDIA

Anglo media can be described as English-language communication media directed at the mass audience of the United States. Under this group would fall most television stations, daily newspapers, magazines, and motion pictures. These media are identified by the fact that their primary audience is essentially non-Latino. Therefore, their role in relation to the Latino communities is essentially attempting to explain or portray Latinos to a predominantly Anglo audience.

The national press called Chicanos (Latinos of Mexican descent) the "invisible minority" and "the minority nobody knows" when it suddenly discovered Chicanos in the late 1960s. However, much of the invisibility and ignorance was in the minds of the writers and editors. This is because consistent coverage of Chicanos and Latinos in the

national media was virtually non-existent in the first seven decades of the twentieth century. A survey of magazine citations in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature from 1890 to 1970 reveals very few articles about Latinos in the United States. The articles were written often had a crisis or negative overtone. That is, they were written during periods when Mexican labor or immigration impacted national policy or when Latinos were involved in civil strife.

Local coverage apparently wasn't much better. One researcher noted that picture of Chicana brides weren't even printed in El Paso newspapers until the 1950s; this is a town that was over half Chicano. Speaking to a 1969 media conference in San Antonio, veteran Los Angeles Times reporter Ruben Salazar said "the Mexican-American beat in the past was nonexistent."

"Before the recent racial turmoil, Mexican-Americans were something that vaguely were there but nothing which warranted comprehensive coverage-unless it concerned, in my opinion, such badly reported stories as the Pachuco race riots of Los Angeles in the early 1940s, or more recently, the Bracero progrm's effect on the Mexican American," he explained. Salazar also predicted Anglo news media would not find the Chicano community easy to cover.

"The media, having ignored the Mexican Americans for so long, but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story," Salazar continued. "It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican American, is not amused that under that serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo."

Salazar's analysis was based on his long experience as a reporter, war correspondent and bureau chief. It was also supported by the news

media's bumbling efforts to "discover" the barrio during the late 1960s. Stories were often inaccurate and nearly always revealed more of the writers' own stereotypes than the characteristics of the people they tried to write about.

For instance, a Time magazine reporter riding through, East Los Angeles in 1967 saw mostly "tawdry taco joints and rollicking cantinas," smelled "the reek of cheap wine (and)....the fumes of frying tortillas," and heard "the machine gun patter of Spanish." Such slanted reporting did little to promote intergroup understanding, but added the credibility of the news media to the prejudices of many in their audience.

One reason for such biased and inaccurrate reporting was the lack of Latinos working as reporters and editors on Anglo publications during that period. Although many broadcasters and publications made affirmative efforts to hire Latinos in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the numbers hired were far below fair representation of the population. The commitment often did not extend beyond hiring a few token staffers and sometimes did not continue to the promotion and upgrading of Latino employees.

A 1978 survey of minority employment on general circulation daily newspapers found that less than one percent of the editorial workforce was Latinos and that Latinos, like other racial minority groups, were underrepresented in management positions. Although broadcast employment was somewhat better, due in part to federal regulation of broadcasting a 1977 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights study on minority employment and coverage was called "Window Dressing on the Set" to illustrate the lack of minorities in policy making positions.

By the end of the 1970s the amount of coverage of Latinos in Anglo media had increased. More examples of good reporting could be found. But many of the news stories still focussed on Latinos as "problem people;" individuals causing or beset by problems. And stories often had a "zoo appeal" revealing the "strange" characteristics and cultural traditions of Latinos.

Continued immigration from Mexico spurred a barrage of reactionary, and often inaccurate reports about people the media called illegal aliens. The Los Angeles Herald-Examiner ran a front page banner headline "State Threatened by Alien Horde" over a New York Times story on Mexican masses along the border that was untrue. A 1979 U.S. News and World Report cover story was headlined "Illegal Aliens: Invasion Out of Control?" A 1978 Los Angeles Times article contained contained an insensitive--and inaccurrate--quote from an unnamed source that "urinating outdoors is a cultural thing in Mexico."

"We go after illegal aliens on a weekly basis," a U.S. News and World Report staffer told the Washington Journalism Review in 1978. One cause of the one-sided negative coverage was the types of sources reporters used in researching immigration stories. A 14-month analysis of California newspaper reporting of immigration in 1977 and 1978 revealed that reporters relied heavily on law enforcement and public officials in seeking information. Such sources tend to portray undocumented immigrants as police or public agency problems. Less than one percent of the stories even quoted or cited the undocumented themselves as sources.

When an improvement in coverage was noted it was often tied to

the employment of Latino reporters or an enlightened management. Latino newspaper reporters such as the Los Angeles Times' Frank del Olmo, New York Daily News' David Medina and the Miami News' Helga Silva covered Latino stories with a insight few Anglo reporters could share.

But employment gains and reporting expertise did not always translate to upward mobility or professional recognition for Latino journalists. Some reporters complain that news editors do not allow them to develop investigative stories on Latino issues, preferring them to cover spot news. Some editors questioned the objectivity of Latino reporters, somehow feeling that a Latino reporter covering a Latino issue was somehow biased. These editors failed to note that Anglo reporters cover Anglo issues every day without being accused of subjectivity.

But coverage and employment of Latinos in the news media is only one side of the issues Latinos confront in dealing with Anglo media. In dealing with Anglo entertainment media another range of issues has emerged for Latinos.

Novelists, short story writers, movie makers and television producers have long delighted in portraying Latinos in stereotyped roles revolving around the Latin lover, the bandit, the faithful servant, the mustachioed overweight slob, the mamacita, and the woman with dark eyes, a low cut blouse and loose morals. These common stereotypes are nothing new. Neither is Latino reaction against them.

In 1911 La Cronica, a Spanish-language newspaper in Laredo, Texas, waged a hard-fought campaign against stereotyping of Mexicanos and Native Americans in the cowboy movies then just emerging. The editor complained

that Mexicanos and Native Americans were almost always cast as "villains and cowards" and argued that Mexicanos were the "most defamed in these sensational American films."

These negative stereotypes and other Latino caricatures continued in movies and television during the 20th century. Even when Mexicanos and Chicanos are portrayed as lead characters the role has often been stereotyped or distorted. Thus, Spencer Tracy's part in "Tortilla Flat," Wallace Berry's portrayal of Pancho Villa, Marlon Brando's lead in "Viva Zapata," and Valerie Harper's role in "Freebie and the Bean" reveal more of the actors and actress' preconceptions than the character of the people they are trying to portray.

Latino actors and actresses found themselves similarly typecast in stereotyped roles when they sought work in Hollywood, although there has been some improvement since 1970. Ricardo Montalban, who signed with MGM in 1956, has written he was condemned to "the bondage of 'Latin-lover' roles" early in his career. Rita Moreno, who won an Oscar for her part in "West Side Story" in the early 1960s, didn't make another movie for seven years because she refused to play roles as the "Latin spitfire;" the only type casting directors would offer her.

The coming of television in the 1950s added another weapon to the arsenal of the media barons. The most popular situation comedy of the period, "I Love Lucy," regularly made fun of Desi Arnaz' supposed inability to speak unaccented English and his lapses into fast-paced Spanish when Lucille Ball made him angry. Reruns of the program were still prime time fare in many major metropolitan areas in the late 1970s. Other early stereotyped characters included Frank, the Chicano gardener on "Father Knows Best;" Pepino, the farmhand on "The Real McCoys;" Sergeant Garcia,

the bumbling soldier on "Zorro," and most of the secondary characters in "The Flying Nun."

The adult westerns of the late 1950s and early 1960s ushered in a recycling of the Latino villains and loose women from earlier periods. And comedians, such as Bill Dana's "Jose Jimenez," continued to poke fun at the way Latinos were supposed to think, talk, and live. The situation on television became so bad that the Mexican consul in Los Angeles officially protested to the NBC network in 1966.

The civil disorders of the late 1960s awakened much of Hollywood to the harmful social and psychological effects of stereotyped portrayals of Blacks. But the benefits of this new awareness did not result in accurate or dignified portrayals of Latinos. In a widely circulated 1969 article a Chicano sociologist analyzed the racism behind portrayals of Latinos in advertising, including the corn chips stealing "Frito Bandito." In 1970 two Chicano media activists issued a "Brown Position Paper," that charged the electronic media had made the Chicano "The White Man's New Nigger."

"The greater openness of the media to the Black community spells a greater inaccessibility for the Chicano to the media," their report stated. "In providing access to the Black, the mass media believes itself to be free of prejudice or discrimination when, in effect, it is merely changing the emphasis from one group to another."

Latino media activist groups, such as the National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee, the National Chicano Media Council, Justicia, and Nosotros moved against advertising, television and motion pictures on a national scale in the early 1970s. Their efforts were only partically

rewarded. Television and movies increased the visibility of Chicano characters in the 1970s, but these roles are often stereotyped by social class. Chicanos portrayed as dignified, admirable characters are most often those with middle class credentials as teachers, police officers, social workers or other professional positions. Lower class Chicanos, particularly young people, are commonly portrayed as unable to deal with their own problems without assistance from Anglos, humorous characters, or members of the underworld.

The Anglo entertainment media continued to stereotype Latino characters through the 1970s. Particularly offenisve to Latinos were the NBC television series "Chico and the Man," the Warner Brothers release "Boulevard Night," and the Universal film "Walk Proud". A number of television series treated Chicano youth gangs in episodes in which the Anglo hero of the series invariably rescued a salvagable Chicano youth from evil influences of his neighborhood peers at the last moment.

By the end of the 1970s Latinos were no longer the "invisible minority" in the Anglo media. But it was also clear that more media attention did not automatically equal better coverage and understanding. And, while there were more examples of balanced coverage and accurate portrayals than before, one-sided reporting and negative stereotype still permeated much of the media's treatment of Latinos.

Although inaccurate and stereotyped coverage cheat the predominantly Anglo audience of such media from fully appreciating Latinos, it is doubtful Latinos will ever attain full and accurate treatment from

Anglo media. One reason is because Anglo media are primarily interested in attracting a non-Latino audience and apparently feel they can do so by offering shallow reporting and stereotypic portrayals.

Spanish-Language Media

Although Latinos are a secondary audience for Anglo media, they are the primary audience for the growing complement of Spanish-language print and broadcast media in the United States. The Spanish-language media have a long history in the United States, predating both the Black and Native American press by about two decades.

The first U.S. Spanish-language newspaper, El Misisipí, was a bilingual four-page periodical begun in New Orleans in 1808. Other newspapers were started in New Mexico and Texas prior to the conquest of the territories by the United States in 1848. After the Yankee takeover of the Southwest some Anglo newspaper publishers began printing a few pages of Spanish news, often to qualify for government printing subsidies for printing public notices in Spanish. Early Southwestern newspapers before and after the conquest include La Gaceta de Texas (1813), Santa Fe's El Crepusculo de la Libertad (1834), Los Angeles' La Estrella (1851) and San Antonio's El Bejareño (1855).

These early Spanish-language newspapers regularly published jokes, short stories, poetry, and local commentary in addition to news coverage. News was generated out of local, national and international news sources, with editors freely borrowing items from each other's newspapers. During the 1890s Spanish-language newspapers in New Mexico organized the Spanish American Associated Press to increase

their viability as a force in the territory.

Since most early newspapers were dependent on a combination of government subsidies and advertising from Anglo merchants they cannot be described as solely an activist press. However, it is possible to note periods and issues in which they spoke on behalf of their people against the Anglo power structure. Many of their issues are similar to those being raised by Latino activists today.

For instance, in 1854 El Bejareño called for bilingual education for Chicano children. In the 1870s Los Angeles' La Cronica argued that Chicanos living in the "Barrio Latino" paid their fair share of city taxes, but didn't get an equal share of city services. In the 1880s El Fronterizo proposed a Chicano boycott of Tucson's Anglo merchants because some would not let Chicanos shop in their stores. In 1894 Santa Fe's El Gato printed an editorial on "The Capitalist and the Worker" that condemned local employers for extracting the labor of Chicano workers without paying decent wages.

A number of new Spanish-language newspapers were begun in the first two decades of the 20th century as civil strife in Mexico and the promises of mine operators and growers brought a new wave of immigrants from Mexico. Some of the newspapers, such as Ricardo Flores Magon's Regeneración, were organs for political movements in Mexico. Others, such as San Antonio's La Prensa, were founded by former Mexican newspapermen who had moved to the United States.

A 1970 compilation identified nearly 200 Spanish-language newspapers that had been published in the five Southwestern States between 1848 and 1942. And, although a 1954 sociologist had predicted

that the Spanish-language press would die within 15 years, the medium continue to develop during the 1970s. In 1976 the Miami Herald began printing a separate edition in Spanish and the number of U.S. Spanish-language dailes numbered 9 in 1979.

But the biggest growth during the 1970s was experienced in Spanish-language broadcasting, both radio and television. Radio stations began programming in Spanish during the 1920s, often at odd hours of the early morning or weekends when English-language listeners were scarce. After World War II more stations began programming in Spanish and a number of Southwestern stations did so on a full time basis. The 1978 Broadcasting Yearbook listed over 600 radio stations airing Spanish programs, about 100 of them on a full time basis.

Almost all Spanish-language radio stations are commercial operations that turn a profit by cultivating their low income and language-dependent audience as a consumer market for advertisers. Most stations are owned and managed by Anglos and staffed by Latinos from Latin America, not local Latinos. Station formats are heavily dependent on music, most of it imported from Latin America, with a sprinkling of news, public affairs and other informational spots.

A new entrant, but also rapidly growing, is U.S. Spanish-language television, which began in San Antonio. The 1978 Broadcasting Yearbook listed 20 television stations broadcasting in Spanish to U.S. audiences, some of them from the Mexican side of the border.

There are Spanish-language full time television stations in most major Southwestern metropolitan areas, as well as Chicago, New York, and Miami.

The television stations depend on imported programs produced and aired in Latin America. The largest U.S. network, Spanish International Network (SIN) is 75% owned by Mexico's Televisa television network and serves as an export market for the Mexican produced programs.

Latino communities also have a full complement of record stores, movie theaters and newstands. But, like their broadcast counterparts, these media outlets are highly dependent on imports from Latin countries. Just as Spanish-language broadcasters rely on records and programs from Latin America for their programming, barrio movie theaters generally show films produced across the border. Record stores are filled with tapes and records by artists from Latin America. Newstands offer primarily magazines and newspapers published in Latin America.

Thus, Latinos in the United States are largely a secondary audience for much of the Spanish-language media directed toward them. The language is the same, but the socio-economic status of Latinos is different from Latin America (where we are the majority) to the United States (where we are a minority). Although some reinforcement of the identity with Latin America can have a positive effect, a near total dependence on such media content can redirect the audience's attention away from the immediate reality in the

United States. The domination of media content also serves to block local Latino talent from media exposure, limits information on local news issues, and works against the building of a Latino identity based on life in the United States.

One group that has realized the potential influence of Spanish-language media in the United States has been the national and local advertisers who ride on the television and radio airwaves to reach Latino consumers. In the 1970s advertising publications began touting the "Spanish gold" that alert corporations could extract from the barrios. Attracted by what was called a $30 billion consumer market, the advertisers invested more of their money into cultivating Latino consumers.

The Spanish-language broadcasters were quick to sell themselves as the most effective way to penetrate and persuade the Latino market. Some even played on the low socio-economic status of their audience as a plus for advertisers. For instance, Spanish International Network told potential advertisers "Latins are brand buyers because, for many, advertised brands represent a status symbol!" The same network showed that Latinos must spend more of their household budgets for groceries and that advertisers using Spanish-language television have sharply increased their sales.

In highlighting the exploitation of their audience and allowing advertisers to prey on it, Spanish-language broadcasters become part of the system of exploitation. Their growth is dependent on their ability to attract a large Latino audience with low cost programming and

deliver that audience to advertisers as a consumer market ripe for exploitation. Since most stations also have minimal budgets for news and public affairs programs, they also fail to equip Latino people with the information necessary to make substantive improvements in their condition.

In addtion to the extractive nature of the commercial media, the pattern of Anglo control and heavy dependence on Latin American program sources makes the relations between Latinos and Spanish-language analogous to people in Third World countries. In these nations the people are also targets of media controlled by outsiders and delivering programs produced in other countries. Thus, Latinos share with other Third World people a basic contradiction in dealing with the media that considers them their main audience; the media are operated for the benefit of the dominating group and not the audience.

Bilingual/Bicultural Media

The third media subsystem affecting Latinos can be described as bilingual/bicultural media. This level includes media that is directed at the Latino audience in English or a combination of Spanish and English. The first widespread use of this form came in the mid-1960s with the bilingual alternative media used by activists to arouse and organize Latinos around important issues.

These media are different from traditional forms in that their "profit" is measured in terms of dissemination of information and development of awareness among the audience, not in monetary terms.

Latino alternative media are most often operated as part of a community organization or a media collective, are staffed by community members who are often not media professionals, and provide information and analysis that is usually not presented in the established media. Their language, like the language of the people they are a part of, is usually bilingual blend of Spanish and English, with frequent homegrown expressions in "barrio Spanish."

Latino alternative media include movement periodicals, alternative radio programming, guerrila teatros (theatrical groups), film makers, videotape producers, and book publishers. Such media can play a useful role in providing needed information and interpretation on issues of importance to Chicanos.

For instance, when a Los Angeles deputy sheriff killed journalist Ruben Salazar in 1970 La Raza, a local Chicano newspaper, furnished photographs of the events surrounding the shooting to local newspapers and the community. In the late 1960s El Teatro Campesino (The Farmerworkers' Theater) toured the nation to raise awarenesss of the Chicano identity, the grape boycott, and other issues of importance to farmworkers. In the early 1970s Albuquerque's El Grito del Norte exposed mismanagement of a large foundation-funded project that was supposed to help low income rural residents, but actually produced few benefits for them. San Francisco's El Tecolote worked with community groups in the mid-1979s to persuade the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company to provide bilingual operator service for its many Spanish-speaking customers.

Chicano book publishers, such as Berkeley's Quinto Sol Publications and El Paso's Mictla Publications, produced several Chicano best sellers in the early 1970s. Commercial publishing houses often consider books by Latino authors either to political or too limited in appeal to warrant publication. Thus, when Denver's Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales wrote his epic poem "I am Joaquin" in the mid-1960s he published it himself. The poem became instantly popular among Chicano activists, was later made into a film and subsequently reprinted by Bantam Books.

Chicano alternative newspapers, many of them based on college campuses, have made creative use of offset print technology in displaying stories,pictures, and graphics. Many feature full page pictues on the front page and elaborate borders. While some, like El Popo at California State University, Northridge, have been published continuously since the early 1970s, most have relatively short lives. A cause of this turnover is the lack of adquate financial backing and a constantly fluctuating staff. One publication that survived through the 1970s was San Francisco's El Tecolote, which began in 1970.

"We, of El Tecolote, see ourselves as an important political collective," reads a statement issued by the editorial staff. "El Tecolote is the major focus of our work. As writers we have a role to disseminate accurate information. We realize that the existing newspapers in the Mission, and the mass media in general, cannot be counted on to bring about any positive social, cultural and political awareness."

El Tecolote is operated collectively by the group, which is organized into subcommittees responsible for different aspects in operating the

newspaper. The newspaper, which is circulated free, supports itself through limited advertising and contributions from supporters.

Other forms of Latino bilingual media include radio programs that mix information with music, theatrical groups that blend political messages into their acts, and filmakers who explore controversial topics commercial media usually avoid.

In the 1970s the bilingual format became more apparent in other, more traditional, media forms. El Teatro Campesino's organizers wrote and produced a bilingual hit play, "Zoot Suit," which exhausted several runs in Los Angeles and opened on New York's Broadway. In Santa Rosa, California local Chicanos started a bilingual non-commerical radio station. Nationally syndicated educational television programs such as "Sesame Street," "Villa Alegre," and "Que Pasa, USA?" used bilingual dialogue.

Other English-language media were developed to address Latinos along cultural, if not linguistic loyalties. Nuestro, an English-language magazine for Latinos, was started in 1977. Other ventures about the same time included Somos, an issue-oriented English-language magazine in Southern California, and Lowrider, a magazine for Chicano car clubbers. These joined older English-language Latino magazines such as Agenda and La Luz in addressing Latinos along cultural lines.

The bilingual message was also found in traditional media. The Chicago Sun-Times printed a page of news in Spanish. Television stations from New York to California carried simulcasts of their news programs on Spanish-language radio stations so Latinos could hear the news in Spanish as they watched the television station. Some advertisements

and public service announcements were aired bilingually and a number of Spanish-language broadcaster programmed occasional English-language records and commercials.

As the United States approached the 1980s the use of bilingual/bicultural media continued to increase. The prospects for such media appeared to be bright, given the increasingly bilingual abilities of the Latino audience. However, as the media became increasingly commercial, it was also clear that some of the idealistic motivation that spurred the development of bilingual/bicultural media in the mid-1960s had not been carried through by others who adopted the format for economic gain.

Conclusion

Given the current and projected growth of Latinos in the United States it is clear that Latinos will continue to have a growing impact on existing and developing media systems. What this impact will be is not yet clear. Much of the progress in Anglo media will depend on the upward mobility of Latinos already working in the profession and the fresh ideas of younger Latinos who enter the field. Spanish-languague media, which has experinced tremendous growth in the 1960s and 1970s, will continue to develop if Latinos continue to prefer Spanish over English. However, there is a great need for development of local production and content for these media. Bilingual/bicultural media appear to have the greatest potential for growth, but there are serious problems of format and presentation to be overcome when using one language in a single medium.

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